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UA37/23 WHAS Broadcast No. 41

Western Kentucky University

WHAS

Earl Moore

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November 3, 1936

4:00-4:30 p. m.

From Studio in Bowling Green

Air time
Strings and Voices "College Heights."

Moore Western Kentucky State Teachers College Greet you all both great and small with the words of our college motto - - -

Voices Life More Life.

Moore Life More Life is our motto and our wish for all our listeners.

Vibraphone Chords.

1:15 Moore The program is opened by Dale Grabill of Hobart, Indiana, one of our freshmen, playing as a French horn solo Bach's "Frühlings Erwachen, Romanze." At the piano is Chester N. Channon, of the music faculty.

1:30 Grabill "Frühlings Erwachen, Romanze."

5:15 Moore And now Miss Mary Frances McChesney, soprano, one of our recent graduates, will sing "Dream Once Again," by Squire.

~~8~~ McChesney "Dream Once Again."

9:25 Moore We are now to hear a discussion of the situation in Spain, by Dr. A. M. Stickles, who has been for many years head of Western's Department of History. He is the author of The Critical Court Struggle in Kentucky, 1819-1829. He has now in preparation a book dealing with the life of a prominent military leader ^{the} in American Civil War. I have pleasure in presenting Dr. Stickles.

9:55 Stickles I wish first to make an announcement. The first conference of Teachers of the Social Studies will meet Friday evening, November 6, at Western Teachers College.

An excellent program has been arranged to continue through a luncheon

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at noon Saturday. An invitation is extended to any one who may be interested, especially to all grade, high school and college teachers of the Social Studies.

(Talk, "A Resume of the Spanish Situation," — copy attached)

28:50 Strings "College Heights," fading for:

29:05 Moore You are listening to the program of Western Kentucky State Teachers College. You have just heard Dr. A. M. Stickles. His talk was preceded by a French horn solo by Dale Grabill and a soprano solo by Mary Frances McChesney. This program has come to you from Bowling Green.

We invite you to be with us next Tuesday at this same hour for a cruise to a land of colorful scenes and quaint customs, Guatemala. Our ship will sail promptly at four o'clock C. S. T.

Earl Moore speaking. We wish you Life More Life.

29:40

(Strings up and continue)

A Resume of the Spanish Situation

Spain the Country

The area of continental Spain is about 190,000 square miles. With the Canary and Balearic Isles it has about 195,000 square miles, nearly five times the size of Kentucky.

By far the greater portion consists of a table land lying between the Pyrenees and Cantabrian mountains on the North, and the Sierra Morinas.

Seven-eighths of Spain is surrounded by the sea, but the mountains along its coast permit of a few inlets and harbors. Barcelona on the Mediterranean has the best harbor.

Rainfall in the greater part of Spain is only about 20 inches annually, so irrigation is necessary in many areas.

Population

Spain has about 23,000,000 people. The Romans conquered the peninsula from the ancient Iberians and Basques. Rome built a fine civilization there, but even before the fall of that Empire, many German tribes invaded Spain, passed through it, or settled there.

The Moors invaded Spain and conquered it and southern France, in the 8th century. By the efforts of the Franks and other German tribes, the Moors were gradually driven back into Spain. In the centuries intervening between the 8th and 16th, the Moors were gradually crowded southward until they were finally limited to the southern states of Andalusia and Granada. Granada was finally conquered by Ferdinand and Isabella about the time of the discovery of America, *and that ended modern political power in Spain*. The old Moorish civilization is still in evidence throughout Spain, blended with the Romano-Germanic institutions there. It is a strange incident that the leading rebel general began his revolt in Mohammedan Morocco, and is leading Moors against Spaniards in the civil war in Spain today.

Economic-Social Spain

It is hard for average Americans to understand the situation in Spain, and it is doubtful whether the most intelligent comprehend it fully. All understand that this land which is so rich in history, great in war and conquest, once mighty politically and the world's greatest colonial power, grand in literature, art, architecture, and philosophy, once the proud owner of much of what is now United States territory, and a contributor to our life, is now ravaged over its entire area by a bloody civil war. They further understand that this impoverished nation fallen from the mightiest power in the world in the 16th century, to a fifth-rate power today, much of which is still mediaeval in its institutions, impoverished economically even before this horrible war began, will suffer for generations to come from its effects.

Everyone is impressed with the fact that the war has been at base a class struggle. It has been due largely to unequal land distribution, mediaeval methods of manufacturing and agriculture, and to miserable poverty and under-consumption. As a result you have had social eruption and a tremendous economic upheaval. As an extreme illustration it is asserted that there are isolated valleys within fifty miles of Madrid where the natives live so primitively that they use no machinery, and have never even seen a wheelbarrow. Napoleon attempted many modern reforms during his brief reign in Spain, and since his downfall, there have been some 100 revolutions to upset the government, of which some were for liberal economic reforms, others led by mere political adventurers.

Spain is by and large a poor agricultural country. It is estimated that not over 10% of it is what Americans really call fertile. About one-half of the area cannot be cultivated at all on account of mountain and desert. From 70% to 80% of her population live on the land. Powerful families own and control the best lands except in a few provinces like Navarre in the North where men own their farms and are fairly well to do. Landlords generally live away from their land and have managers for their

estates, which of itself has caused much discontent.

Three dukes of the country own nearly one-half million acres of land. Others of the nobility hold tracts from 20,000 to 40,000 acres each. About 20% of the land belongs to some 75,000 wealthy families and corporations. In a few provinces like Andalusia and Estramadura in the southern part, 90% of the land is held by but a few families, and in those states are found the most miserable, underfed, land-peasants in Spain. During the last five years of the present depression, low wages have produced such misery and squalor that many have died of starvation both on the land and in cities. Their homes are often mere hovels built of tin cans, brush and sod. Immense sheep ranches keep much of the country from tillage. Much additional land could be farmed if irrigated, but the government is too poor to do it.

Nor are the industrial workers in the cities much better off. There is an industrial population of about 4,000,000 in the cities, nearly one-fifth of the total population, who, on account of the political and economic situation, have barely been able to exist. They are almost as poor as the landless rural peasants, but more intelligent and much more radical in their views on religious and economic subjects—seven hundred thousand of them when the revolution began, were without work. Neither in country nor town is there a powerful middle class.

Spain has but 10,000 miles of railroad. The highways are in the main so poor that products cannot get to a central market. Transportation and freight are slow and the rates very high—three and one-half times higher than those of France. There is not enough of some foods nor of manufactures produced for the home market, and imports for several years past have exceeded exports. To make matters worse, 45% of Spain's population is illiterate.

The Church

It is entirely natural that in the centuries of struggle Spain had with the Mohammedan Moors, the church was compelled to ally itself with the nobility and the

crown or it would have been exterminated. Its orders accumulated vast estates and they are today also interested in railroads and banks. It is conservative in its political theories as would be any church of any denomination anywhere under such conditions. Like any political and economic revolution almost without exception has been, especially where church and state have been united as they have been in Spain, the under privileged classes blame the church for part of their trouble. Radical political theories have produced a large per cent of atheists. This has led to a great decrease of church attendants, and likewise shaken the influence of that institution. This must not be understood to mean that there are not still millions of devout loyal Catholics in Spain, for there are. Nor are all the Catholics on the side of the rebels. The Basques in northeast Spain, for instance, have fought consistently on the side of the government in this struggle, at Irun and elsewhere, and Catholics have done so in many other parts. In the main, however, the church believes that government supporters have attacked its very foundation, not only its property, through which hundreds of churches have been destroyed, but what is more vital, its creed and faith. This has naturally put most of the church leaders in the defensive and on the side of the rebels. Many horrible acts have been committed against church people, and among these have been the murder of innocent priests, monks, and nuns by bands of outlaws and the most radical elements allied with the government, and very frequently done by those elements which the government could not restrain. These radical elements blame the church equally with the nobles and capitalists for the wretched conditions of the poor. It should be noted that many Catholics in the recent past who are now on the side of the rebels, wanted the church to lead in economic reform. Robles, a minister in the reactionary cabinet of Lerroux, in 1934-35, and a leader of the Catholic Center party, demanded economic reforms within and by the church, but he failed to get anything of importance done.

Recent Political Events

When the people were allowed to vote in 1931 after the downfall of King Alfonso whether they would continue the monarchy or a republic, the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the latter. The government set up under the republic at once commenced to make some liberal, modern reforms. However, it was not long until the economic changes it tried to make started a reaction. In the cabinet of the early republic itself were prominent Spaniards who had no faith in it, and who connived with the very agencies they were chosen to curb.

In the fall of 1934 a bloody revolution started against the liberal government and thousands were in jail by December, 1935. Again the conservative forces had won, and the nation went struggling onward with the ruins of the immediate past everywhere. The same old forces that demanded liberal changes refused to be held in abeyance, and by February, 1936, came another election. This election resulted in what is known as the Popular Front Government with Azana as prime minister. The Popular Front Government is a coalition of republicans, socialists, communists, and anarchists, and it had in the Cortes, the national congress of Spain, a large majority. In May of this year Azana, poet, scholar, philosopher, and statesman, resigned as prime minister, and became president of the republic. He has now left Madrid and is directing affairs from Barcelona.

The pitiful poverty of the country which was relieved only in a small measure by the reforms scarcely begun by Azana, presented yet more and more problems for solution. Communism began to spread everywhere through the sullen resentment against all privileged classes. From the standpoint of the conservatives, just enough had been done by the Azana government to start deep resentment.

The Political Elements Involved

The republic was organized in 1931 to establish liberal government. Already it has been noted it had a serious setback in the revolt of 1934. The conservatives

controlled the government until 1936. They put back into power the representatives of the nobility, the landed gentry, the church, and capitalist classes and lodged those in jail who opposed them. The officers of the army in Spain have always been connected with the capitalist classes. Some of the navy also joined with the reactionary forces. The press, largely controlled by the capitalist classes, continued its attacks on all liberal reforms.

On the other hand the republican party joined hands in its attempted reforms with the liberal socialists. Soon it was found that in order to succeed in putting through liberal legislation and make it effective, it was necessary for the republicans and socialists to join in with the more radical elements in the Cortes. The anarchists and communists exacted a high price for their cooperation. When it was seen that the government was leaning more and more toward the Left or radicals, it aroused the fear and anger of the property classes. The Popular Front Government began to face very serious opposition by July of this year.

Reforms Azana Attempted

Azana tried to get land reform first by paying for some of the largest estates. He gave 70,000 peasant plowmen a chance to own small farms. He gave the women suffrage. He began plans to provide for more irrigation for arid lands. He passed a law decreeing higher wages for agricultural laborers. He decreed a dissolution of religious orders and some of the courts of justice. As time went on, radicalism grew, and when the government was opposed by the capitalist classes of the church and nobility, property was confiscated outright.

If one were to attempt to answer the question of what the two great factions are fighting for, it could probably be stated briefly that on the part of the government, it is to save liberalism; on the part of the rebels, it is to save capitalism. The rebels are determined to stop the assault upon wealth acquisition, upon the division of large estates, and attacks ^{on} ~~at~~ the church.

Rebel Leadership

The rebellion broke out in Morocco about the 17th of July. The leader was General Francisco Franco. He is a dark-skinned, active man of forty-four, who in 1922, became commander of the Spanish Foreign Legion. His legions are composed of many races and creeds. The government had sent him to be a military governor in the Canary Isles. Mysteriously he appeared in Morocco last July and sent out a call to begin a revolt. He came from the middle class, his father having been an engineer in the navy. He is a quiet, modest man. He moved his troops from Morocco across the channel and began to attack southern Spain. In the North Franco cooperated with one of his friends, Mola, of whom less is known than about himself.

General Franco on October 2 took charge of a provisional government Junta after he and General Mola had succeeded in subduing practically the whole Mediterranean coast and also the northern part of Spain. Franco then made these promises: religious liberty in Spain, fair commercial treaties with other nations, and a government by a Junta of seven generals to continue under his supervision until peace is established. Their capital of the state was to be at Burgos in north-central Spain. He further said he hoped to have a government modelled after that of Italy and Germany as they are today, but made the reservation that Spanish traditions should be respected. What he may mean by his last observation can only be determined by time.

So far, the rebel movement has been almost uniformly successful. There has been poor cooperation among the various elements supporting the government. They have not been able to concentrate their troops on any given front, as have the rebels. As before stated, both sides have committed horrible outrages and atrocities of all sorts. There has been mass execution on both sides. Even in some instances the

government has had to fight some of its own radical forces, as represented by the anarchists and communists, to keep them from utterly destroying by fire and bombing certain cities when they were compelled to evacuate.

The Spanish Revolt in its Relation to Other Countries

As soon as war began, and particularly after General Franco moved across the straits of Gibraltar with his troops of ferocious Mohammedans and the rest of his motley army, Europe awakened to the fact that the Spanish situation was very serious and dangerous. England and France would have been entirely justified by international law in helping an elective, established, and organized government such as Spain had by selling them food and munitions of war. The Portuguese press immediately began its attack on the government and indicated its support of the Spanish rebels. Very soon it became evident that if England and France should support with supplies the established government, as they were legally allowed to do, the Facists government of Germany and Italy would likewise aid the rebels ^{in the same manner} and perhaps send them troops. ¹ ~~hasn't~~ It also developed early that Russia was friendly, especially to the more extreme elements which had joined partnership with the republican and socialist forces, and the Soviet began to furnish money and has recently sent supplies.

An attempt was made by different nations in Europe to localize the conflict and get all of them to agree to remain neutral. By September an international committee had been appointed and it began to attempt through publicity to hold the various nations to neutrality. However, it seems that in spite of their agreements to the contrary, both Germany and Italy have supplied war munitions, aeroplanes, and even men to aid the rebels. The Italian government recently denied this. Again, Portugal has never agreed to submit to the international committee regulations on Spanish neutrality. The reason for this is undoubtedly the fact that through Portugal's borders on Spain go immense quantities of food and war munitions to the rebels, thus giving Portuguese tradesmen an immense advantage.

Germany and Italy being so slow in agreeing to neutrality as between the two factions in Spain, has increased the suspicion that promises of the cession of territory have been made by the rebels to these nations. It is suspected that the rebels have promised Italy the important harbor at Ceuta which is only 17 miles South of the fort of Gibraltar. This would make an anomalous situation relative to England which guards the Mediterranean from the North through the straits at Gibraltar. Germany, it is suspected, if a promise of territory has been made to her, would like a harbor in Menorca or in the Canary Isles. Germany and Italy have recently denied that they were promised Spanish territory.

It will readily be understood why France would not want a Fascist government to its South, such as she has across the Rhine; nor would England want to come to conclusions with Italy relative to control of the Mediterranean. The nerves of Europe are all unstrung, and the situation is still extremely dangerous.

The Latest Development in the Situation

The world at large doesn't want war. American neutrality legislation will undoubtedly be strictly enforced in the future as it has been in the past, and yet no one can foresee what may occur. If the rebels win the City of Madrid with its 800,000 people, as it seems they will soon, will that stop the war, or will the terrible class situation continue the struggle as is now threatened in a more savage form than is going on now? The world also is asking whether, if the rebels win, will Franco or some other general develop into a statesman so he can control the situation and insure peace to a sorely stricken people.